

HOW TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THE RACE.

By

The Lord Bishop of Birmingham

Right Hon. C. Addison, M.P.

Lord Willoughby de Broke

The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster

Viscountess Rhondda

Lord Parmoor

Rev. Principal A. E. Garvie, D.D.

Rabbi Professor Hermann Gollancz, D.Lit.

Rev. R. F. Horton, D.D.



W. BLANCHARD FIELD, *Printer and Publisher,*
105, Blackfriars Road London, S.E. 1.

Can be had of

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUBLIC MORALS,
20, Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1,
and various Booksellers.

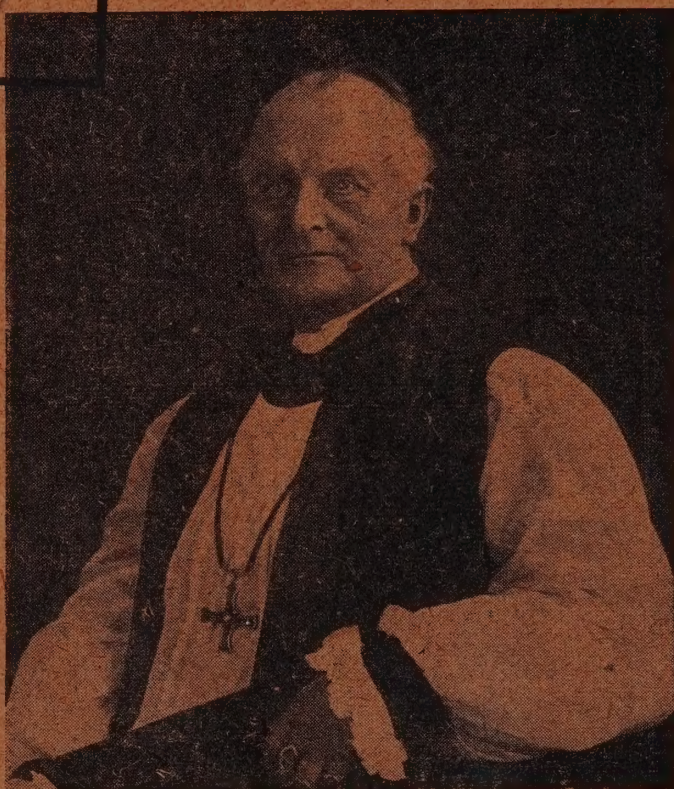
Price **3d.** each.

COME
XARY

Collections

P

2696



The Lord Bishop of Birmingham.

*President of the National Council, and of the
National Birth-Rate Commission.*



22502872996

Asquith Gollan

HOW TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THE RACE.

Being a Report of the Lansdowne House Conference of
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUBLIC MORALS.

INTRODUCTION,

AND

MESSAGES FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY, THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND
LORD DENBIGH.

The Annual Conference of the National Council of Public Morals was held at Lansdowne House (by kind invitation of Lord Lansdowne) on Friday, May 23rd, 1919, at 3 p.m. The Lord Bishop of Birmingham (President of the National Council and of the National Birth Rate Commission) presided and was supported amongst others by Lord Lansdowne, Lord Willoughby de Broke, Duchess of Marlborough, Kathleen Viscountess Falmouth, Bishop of Llandaff, Bishop of Norwich, Archdeacon Holmes, Lord Edmund B. Talbot, D.S.O., M.P., Sir John Struthers, Hon. Sir C. Gregory Wade, K.C. (Agent-General for New South Wales), Hon. Sir Peter McBride (Agent-General for Victoria), Hon. Edward Lucas (Agent-General for Western Australia), Hon. Sir George H. Perley, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner for Canada), Sir Kingsley Wood, M.P., Col. L. W. Harrison, Lt.-Col. F. W. Mott, F.R.S., Lady Butlin, Sir Rider Haggard, K.B.E., Major the Hon. Waldorf Astor, M.P., J. St. Loe Strachey, Esq., A. Lyle-Samuel, Esq., M.P.,

W. Joynson-Hicks, Esq., M.P., Sir Bernard Dawson, Rabbi Prof. Hermann Gollancz, M.A., D.Litt., Rev. J. Fort Newton, D.Litt., Major Darwin, Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, M.A., Dr. W. J. Howarth, M.D., B.Ch., D.P.H., Dr. R. J. Ewart (M.H., Barking), C. W. Crook, Esq., B.A., B.Sc., Rev. F. B. Meyer, D.D., Dr. E. B. Turner, Captain A. F. Wright, R.A.M.C., Col. C. J. Bond, A.M.S., C.M.G., F.R.C.S., Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B., Dr. Marie C. Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S., Mr. Newton Crane, Rev. T. Sykes, National Brotherhood Council, Mrs. Macnamara, Dr. Irwin, D.D., The Rev. D. J. Hiley, C.F., and George S. Hirst, Esq., National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches.

The speakers were The Lord Bishop of Birmingham (President), His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, The Viscountess Rhondda, The Right Hon. Lord Parmoor, Lord Willoughby de Broke, The Right Hon. C. Addison, M.P. (Minister of Health), The Rev. Principal Garvie, M.A., D.D., Rabbi Rev. Professor Hermann Gollancz, M.A., D.Litt., Rev. R. F. Horton, M.A., D.D. There was a large and distinguished audience.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was unable to be present, wrote:—

“Had it been possible I should have been very glad to be present at the Annual Conference of the National Council of Public Morals. I am, as always, interested in the work which the Council undertakes and have been much struck by the book which has just been published, entitled ‘Campaigns of Peace,’ giving some account of the different branches of work in which your Council has been engaged during the last few years.

“I am particularly pleased to note the emphasis laid in that book on the principle which you make the first principle of your Campaigns—the principle I mean of seeking to obtain knowledge is of quite primary importance. In the field of social welfare, using those terms in their largest sense, there is so much opportunity for misdirected sentiment and for wild talk that it be-

comes the paramount duty of those who have the welfare of the race and the welfare of the country most at heart, to lay foundations of reform and renewal with the most complete knowledge of all the facts that they can procure. I am sure also that you are right in emphasising the double duty of the individual to the community and the community to the individual. The individual is bound to serve the community with the best strength of body and mind that he has, but it is also the duty of the community to secure that the weakest individual shall have the fullest opportunity for living his life in health and honour, so that it may be a life worthy of a human being.

“The particular subject which the Conference is to consider is one of the most vital it could consider. Far-reaching issues are involved and the question must be approached with many considerations in view. But here again there can be no doubt that the getting of knowledge is of quite first-rate importance.”

His Grace the Archbishop of York wrote:—

“I have been greatly impressed by the combined width of outlook and thoroughness of work by which the campaigns of the Council have been marked. I trust that the Conference may give to the multitudes of citizens who are eager to advance the moral and social welfare of the people, inspiring vision and wise direction.”

Lord Denbigh wrote:—

“I feel that everybody of whatever creed, who is appalled by the tendencies of the present day all tending to destroy religion, discipline, character, industry, and health, should come together for the purpose of combating these evils.

“At the back of them all the housing question looms as the great cause of discontent, immorality, ignorance, and loss of infant life.

“Besides rectifying the shortcomings of this great problem, which I am afraid will take some time, there is much more to be done in the directions indicated by your pamphlet, and I wish the movement every success.”

The Lord Bishop of Birmingham read a letter from Lord Lansdowne apologising for his absence, as he was still confined to his bed and suffering great pain.

Presidential Address by THE LORD BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM.

The Conference at which we are assembled is one promoted annually by the National Council of Public Morals in order that there may be exchange of opinion on great social matters, especially on those connected with the maintenance and improvement of the race. It is one of the peculiarities of our English system that we encourage voluntary workers to associate themselves together in order to increase knowledge and make suggestions which sometimes find their way into the legislative programme of our State. We have never, in this country, acted upon the principle that the Government should originate the ideas which eventually become, and are, as it were, developed into action. One may have thought that during the war people would become so absorbed in the great events of the moment that they would not be thinking ahead, or preparing for post-war action. It is to the credit, not only of the volunteer in this country, but of the Legislature itself, that there has never been a time in which there was more earnest effort being made for the good of the people than during the time of hostilities and immediately after the Armistice. It is very easy to complain of Governments. Criticism is the one occupation for which no one is too foolish. The man who could never construct anything can easily see the faults in the edifices of others; but I am confident that history will note as a sign of the perennial activity of the Britisher that, whilst his country, his Empire, was engaged in a life-and-death struggle for existence with a cruel and remorseless foe, some of the best brains and hearts of the land were engaged in formulating legislation which was to affect, for good, not only the growing children of the State, but the whole of the population. The greatest of all Education Bills went through Parliament at a time of grave national anxiety. The health legislation, which is now under weigh, has been

thought out during our great time of stress. In fact, the most fertile period of social reform has been that in which there would have been great excuse had it been stated that we were too busy with international matters to care for home affairs. How far this happy state of things has been due to the wise policy of putting at the head of certain great social departments men who were experts on their subject, it would be too difficult to exaggerate. At any rate, no man to whom the future well-being of the country he loves is a matter of more importance than anything else, a matter which he believes the Christian teacher, for instance, can only neglect by disobeying the marching orders of his Leader, can leave out of any annual utterance he has to make a word to those who have had charge of our State affairs, for their interest in the great peace problems which are now in process of solution.

It is the proud privilege of the National Council of Public Morals to have upon its list of active members men who have given themselves for so long to the study of social affairs, that anything which they suggest to a Government Department receives courteous consideration. It is not a bad thing, surely, that before the State commits itself to some far reaching effort for the good of the people, the reasoned judgment of social reformers should be at the disposal of those who will be responsible for legislation.

The war has left us certain inevitable difficulties. We have the great loss of fine young manhood which has to be made up. What the experience of others may be, one cannot of course say ; but to me one of the very sad things of the war has been the fact that some of those to whom one looked most for likely social workers of the future were among the first to give their lives for their country. It naturally stimulates every man to desire to do even more than he had intended to before ; but, notwithstanding, the deficiency remains. You cannot recover a lost individuality.

Another result of the recent years has been the relaxation, to a dangerous extent, of discipline in the adolescent. There is nothing in the least wonderful about this. If you remove parental control, and you provide very young people with work giving them a considerable return of money, you must expect that they will get out of hand, and it behoves the social reformer of to-day to do the very utmost possible in order to bring back into straighter ways the people who are just now on the threshold of grown-up life. They are not vicious. On the contrary, they have in them very fine possibilities, but they have had no one to advise them and they are impatient of any discipline. But they are the parents of the immediate future, and we must do all that we can for them. I wish that the Labour Party, which, after all, has more influence than anyone else with the adolescents, would care for this difficult question more than they do. Churches will only appeal to those within a certain area, but a good, straight-forward working-man can do more with the lads in his neighbourhood than anyone else; only it requires, of course, a good deal of pluck to tackle the subject. We have also the disquieting condition of the matrimonial and child-bearing spheres. Young people are either not marrying, or they are marrying, very often, without much consideration, and children are not being born in those social classes which need to be strongly reinforced. The Registrar-General tells us a very sad tale as to the deaths being greater than the births, and it is to be feared that selfishness is at the root of the declining birth-rate. It is not for me to forecast what may be the report of the Commission now sitting on the birth-rate, but I am satisfied that it will begin by saying that there is need—great need—for an increased population of high-qualified children in Great Britain. I look forward, myself, to a very great effort being produced by the future health authority. When the day dawns in which no prospective mother, child-bearing woman, or child

shall be without the necessary helps towards a completely efficient existence, we shall have solved, partly at any rate, one of our chief difficulties, viz., the death at a terribly early age of a large proportion of our babies. Closely associated with this question is that of housing. In many directions the conditions under which people are living are disgraceful, and it does not satisfy me for people to say that a great many love to exist in such an unsatisfactory way. First of all, I do not believe it; and, secondly, if it be true, it is our fault in that we have not shown a better road. You cannot, all in a moment, make people love the associations of refinement. They must be educated up to that as well as to anything else; but no landlords and no corporations can be excused from seeing to it that those living on their property or under their care have the necessary surroundings for a healthy and moral existence. I would myself go so far as to say that the State should accept responsibility for a child, until that child is capable of earning its own living. It is not that I like to spoon-feed citizens: my wish would be that every man should be so paid that he can do all fitting things for his wife and children out of his own money; but the State should take care that the appliances are there, enabling him to carry out his duty; and, secondly, that if he does not fulfil his part of the contract there should be means of enforcing, by penalty, the right care of wife and children. It is quite possible that much of the difficulty to-day in regard to all these matters is that from the very earliest time in life there is no proper sex education. In some way or other the dignity of parenthood should be impressed upon the young. It will make them more grateful to those who have had charge of their earlier years. Surely to teach a boy to be a true man, a girl to be a capable wife and mother, is of more importance to the State itself than practically any other knowledge that can be given, and yet we boggle at this obvious duty. The unfit would, in a few generations, be reduced to a vanishing

quantity if people were taught to be citizens—if it were impressed upon all that they have been begotten, not for their own mean welfare, but for their country's good.

Another question that is important is the regulation of the amusements of the people. At the present time there is a considerable movement in favour of directed games for children. These may be—I think are—most useful in regard to the development of muscle and in the teaching of how to play games in what one may call a spirit of comradeship. But, after all, we need to be allowed to expand on our own initiative sometimes, and the joy of living should be made, as it were, a truth to all young people. We all desire to make a noise sometimes, and let us be encouraged to do it in a wholesome and reasonable way. I am a great believer in the sexes being allowed to mix together. You cannot do a better thing for morals than to have places for games, and even for dances, where the young people of both sexes mingle. Girls are, now-a-days, not what they were even ten years ago—they can be trusted better, I think, with the other sex than ever before; and the more in a simple but joyous way young fellows find themselves associated with the other sex, the more real will be their chivalry and the purer their thoughts. In regard to public amusements, the Council of which I am President has taken a good deal of interest in the matter of the cinema, and I have myself come to the conclusion that we are only on the threshold of what may be accomplished by this, still quite young, form of entertainment. We shall, I hope, soon have finer halls, better music, fewer idiotic films, less appeal to the lower side of our nature; some instruction combined with beauty and interest—in fact, there is nothing that may not, I believe, be accomplished in the way of entertainment and development of interest and knowledge by the cinema; but, like everything else which appeals to the great mass of people by reason of its cheapness, care is required. My appeal

would be to the great leaders of the cinema industry to crush out the unsatisfactory small elements which are interfering with what I believe to be a beneficent industry. At any rate, we cannot shut our eyes to a business which is not yet fully grown and which at the present time in the United States of America is the fourth largest of the industries.

One other matter has been under our direct notice at the National Council of Public Morals, and that is the fearful danger of the prevalence of venereal disease. During the war we recognised early the duty of counselling both men and women on this subject. The little pamphlet written for us by Dr. Giles went into the hands of a great number of our soldiers and sailors, whilst to Mrs. Scharlieb we were indebted for a plain and helpful statement to women. We have been glad to co-operate with any other organisation dealing with this subject, and we have been greatly helped by members of the Council for Venereal Diseases. I think some people have an idea that now that the war is over there is less need for care on this subject, but the experts tell us that the very reverse is the case. Infected people of both sexes are getting back to their home towns and villages, where they may be a very grave danger for years to come. There is still infinite room for medical care, and, above all, for moral influence. That some people may have exaggerated the ravages of these Venereal Diseases may be true, but that they are most grave cannot be denied. The words of Colonel Harrison when in charge of the Rochester Row Military Hospital are such as to make all of us feel that a nation which will not tackle this grave question is on the down grade: "Syphilis makes inroads into our efficiency in many ways. It kills off our babies before and after birth, cripples children, adolescents and adults, both mentally and physically, and the extent to which it kills off our adults in the most productive years of their lives is illustrated by the fact that the mortality of syphilitics between the ages of thirty-five and fifty

is fifty to eighty-six per cent. greater than that of normal subjects." One happy circumstance is that one no longer considers it a duty to hide away all knowledge as to disease which is normally the consequence of sin, as if we thereby destroyed the evil ; and as an enlightened public opinion is for every social reform the most necessary qualification, we may hope that the future will be brighter than the past.

Such, ladies and gentlemen, are some of the problems which we have tried, as a Council, to do our share in solving. It is a matter of deep thankfulness to be alive at this period of our nation's history, in order to bear some part in making that nation more than ever fit for its great responsibilities and duties. God has chosen to place Great Britain in a higher position in the world than it has ever before occupied. The nations of the earth are looking to our Empire to give, as it were, the marching orders for humanity, and no one can think of what Great Britain is bound to be as an influence without striving most earnestly that we may get rid of the dark things in our manhood, so that we may let loose for the good of humanity all the brighter sights of our nation's life. I want to see, in very truth, a League of Nations led by the old Motherland, to which, after all, the most influential people on God's earth now look for guidance: A League of Nations which, after uprooting all that is foul and filthy in life, then plants in what is true, bright, wholesome, God-fearing, and then tends the growth of all such plants, so helping the knowledge of the Lord to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

Surrounded as I am to-day by leaders of various sections of public thought, speaking in the presence of men who are able by their words to influence thousands, I rejoice to be associated with them, and I love to think of how their ever-increasing power and knowledge will make for the world's best benefit. God guide and strengthen us all to bear our part in the world's work and to be faithful to the inspiration which comes to us.

THE RIGHT HON. C. ADDISON, M.P.

I thank you, in the first place, for allowing me to speak before the President's opening remarks, and I thank you particularly for consulting the exigences of my work in that way. Well, I observe that the title of our gathering to-day is: "How to maintain and improve the Race." I will not appeal to you by giving you figures or by endeavouring to set out before you details of the conditions of life and the results arising therefrom, with which many of you must of necessity be very familiar. I will try and confine myself to something concerning practical efforts which appear to me to be necessary in order to deal successfully with these matters. Now, I believe you may take it that many of the physical ills, and the ill results of existing conditions, arise from two causes—first, improper or unsatisfactory surroundings, and, secondly, ignorance.

Ignorance, or lack of knowledge of what is the right thing to do, certainly produces physical and social consequences in a greater degree than many of us are sometimes disposed to suspect. We can take it, I am quite sure, that a woman desires to do the best she knows how to do for her child, if she only knows how. She often lacks ability to do the best she knows, and often she does not know what is the best to do.

With respect to the first cause of these ill effects, the ill surroundings, as you are well aware, we are trying to deal with. We are dealing with part of it in the great housing campaign which we are now getting started, I am glad to say; and I would suggest to this Association, if I may, some practical way in which they might contribute towards the achievement of what we need as the minimum of a part of housing reform. Apart entirely from vast numbers of new houses that are wanted, we have everywhere an immense number of unsatisfactory dwellings of one kind or another, some of which ought to be cleared away as pestilential and many others

rebuilt and reconstructed, so that they are at least suitable for a family to live in decency. So long as these conditions continue, it is of very little use simply talking about improving the race. We have got physically to clear away and reconstruct slums, which is a hard task, and which requires a great national effort. It will cost a lot of money, but whatever its cost it will have been well worth it, because it is quite impossible for any one of us to believe that there is any ordinary decency as long as anyone has to live in these crowded surroundings where a woman has to attend to her family and go down three or four flights of stairs in order to get a little water for washing herself or her children. Where a man comes home from his work and has nothing more than this to come to, it is quite impossible to expect that we are going to improve the physical condition of the race. In the Housing Bill I have had an almost unique experience in the House of Commons Committee. We have taken very drastic powers to deal with these affairs, and the uniqueness of the experience was this: that, whilst as Minister in charge of the Bill, I have taken very great powers and have imposed heavy burdens upon authorities under the Bill, my efforts have had to be directed towards restraining the Committee from forcing more powers upon me. That was a most healthy sign of the times, and I believe that if this scheme is carried out, in the course of time—not in the course of a few months, because this is a programme for years—in the course of time we shall see our towns reconstructed. We ought to see the main benefit and the chief results of this campaign within, let us say, from three to five years of to-day. And it can be done, but it can only be done if all those concerned pull together and try to do it.

Now, I notice that in the invitation to this meeting—and I speak with fear and trembling, but with a sure and certain hope of soon being outside of this room—I notice on this paper that there are a number of

ladies and gentlemen who are very influential, and, in fact, some of those mentioned, like the Chairman, are gentlemen of high position and are associated with the Churches. Now, we are dependent on housing, at all events for the present, upon the efforts of a vast number of local authorities who are charged with the duty of surveying the needs of their district and of framing the scheme to meet those needs, and when that scheme has been sanctioned it becomes binding upon them to carry it out. This duty has never before been cast upon those authorities, and the nation naturally comes in and is prepared to find a considerable share of the cost. But there are 1,500 local authorities, and we have not yet received schemes from a very large number of them. I can imagine no higher Christian duty—I speak, as I say, with fear and trembling and the knowledge that I shall very soon be outside this room—than that the Churches should see that the local authorities and the President of the Local Government Board do their duty in this matter. There is a local authority to hand in every parish in England, and I think I would seize this opportunity of suggesting that I would like to know that in every place of worship in England and Wales, the local authorities and the President of the Local Government Board are told that the Christian Church expects them to do their duty. That would be a practical step, and I commend the suggestion to those who are responsible for this organisation, and I should be more than grateful if they would do something of the kind. It would be a very great help to us all. There is no time to spare. The lovely weather outside tells us that. We have only a few precious months in this country which we can count upon. I mean the best kind of weather for building; and in view of the fact that most of the local authorities had their best men, their surveyors, engineers and draughtsmen in the Army at the beginning of the year, and that it takes a long time to get the lay-out arrangements completed, and the

purchase of the site—and I hope there will be no haggling on anyone's part in respect of the price—and in view of the time that it takes for getting contracts arranged and prices fixed, and so on, there is no time to waste. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, on the part of every one of us to see that every avoidable delay shall be got rid of. So much, at all events, for one attempt to deal with the surroundings. It is not the function of the President of the Local Government, or the Minister of Health, that we shall soon have to be particularly concerned with the education of our people, but our maternity centres and infant-welfare centres are at the present time not a quarter as numerous as they ought to be. We ought to have our health organisation on rational lines in every considerable centre throughout the country properly strung together. The provisions for fighting tuberculosis in the home, and for vast numbers of people who suffer from it in a very acute and very infectious stage, is immensely defective at the present time, and, as a matter of fact, there are millions of people at the present time who have no proper facilities for getting well when they are ill. That is the undertaking which the Minister of Health has before him. It will be the first duty of that Minister of Health, when his office is created, to form proposals for health services throughout the country, and I would ask that when they are formulated we shall have your assistance in securing that so far as possible parochial considerations do not stand in the way of a proper scheme of work. So often when you propose a thing the objections taken are not so much on the ground that the services you are proposing are not the best services, or not framed on the right lines, but "How is it going to affect our interests; how is it going to affect our system of arrangements?" Really, what we have got to do is to get the best kind of organisation for dealing with health matters and try to keep parochial, rural, urban, or other interests in the back ground. We want the

best service you can organise for the country's need. I hope, when the time comes, this very influential Council will do its best to secure that the proposals are considered in that spirit and from that point of view. If we can keep to the front, I am sure we shall soon evolve a system which will be an immense improvement upon any system which we have at present. I have refrained from going into details, but in these two essential matters of housing and the provision and organisation of health services throughout the country, we have, at all events, two means by which we can in the course of time—for none of these things make their effect quickly—deal with two of the chief drawbacks from which our people suffer with regard to their physical conditions. I believe that this Council will also agree that until we remove some of the disabilities of illhousing and the disabilities attendant on the health services, you cannot expect the other aspects of the life of our people, the formation of good habits and conduct, to progress as we would like to progress, because the disability under which so many of our people suffer, prevents them and takes their mind from anything other than the difficulties of their daily life.

I believe that an improved system of health services is necessary for the physical welfare of our people and for removing industrial discontent and for improving the moral and spiritual position of our people.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE

said he would like to congratulate Dr. Addison on becoming the Minister of what was, and what ought to be, the finest ministry ever instituted in the country. In his statesmanlike speech, stress was laid, first of all, upon environment, and it seemed to give out the idea that if a suitable, healthy environment were provided, they had secured the necessary antecedent,

but he said that they might create all this for the people and give them most beautiful homes with all the sanitary appliances they ought to have, but, unless at the same time, the people were taught a definite standard of conduct and given a definite knowledge of the laws of health and told the truth with regard to disease and how to prevent it, all houses would have been erected purely in vain. He had had the opportunity of saying a word or two to Dr. Addison on the previous afternoon, and had told him at that meeting he should say what some of them expected a Ministry of Health to do. The resolution in favour of the Ministry of Health was passed in the House of Lords when the existence of the Ministry was still doubtful, and when the Ministry came to be spoken of as a project, a great many people objected because it would mean paid posts, bureaucracy, and that sort of thing. That was perfectly natural, because if there was one thing they had been taught by the war, it was that English character hated anything in the shape of bureaucracy, and it was not until after some consideration that it was felt they could add another to the bureaux of this country. They were not multiplying Government Offices, because every function with regard to the national health now distributed among various departments, would be merged in the Ministry of Health. It was highly desirable to disabuse people's minds of the idea that the Ministry of Health meant in effect what was described to him as "being governed by a whole parcel of doctors." They had felt the power of bureaucracy during the war and rightly regarded it with grave suspicion, but he ventured to hope that the Ministry of Health would have some sort of control over the manners and customs of the people by disseminating by every possible means the truth about physiological matters which after all were at the bottom of the maintenance and improvement of the race. If they looked at the rise, fall and decay of the great nations of the past, he thought they would find that decay had sooner or later been capable of

being traced to a lack of the observance of the ordinary laws of health, and not knowing how to prevent the spread of racial poisons. The Ministry of Health would do no good if it confined itself to platitudes about good housing and the importance of having good milk and that sort of thing. Unless the Ministry of Health would bend itself to the collecting and tabulating of information and gave out to the world the result of their learning, the Ministry would have existed in vain. He felt sure that they would do no good with regard to things of that kind which were important in a very high degree, unless the Ministry of Health published the living, palpitating truth with regard to those simple habits of life which go to distinguish man from the animals. He hoped that all those interested in making a success of the Ministry of Health would fortify and strengthen the Ministry by insisting that they should know the truth, the truth about the prevention of disease which was the most vital truth with which they could possibly acquaint the nation. The reason why so many of them distrusted Government departments was because they thought them to be a kind of a buffer between revealed truth and the rest of the nation, and which only dished out in parliament such an amount of information as they considered it desirable for the public to have. He dared say that sounded very hard and ungrateful to Government officers, but they had the whole of enlightened public opinion on their side. The power of such a Council as their's was absolutely illimitable, if only they kept the Ministry of Health up to the mark.

THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER,

who was introduced by The President as "the head of a great Church and one of our greatest citizens" said :—

I am very grateful to your Lordship for the kind

words in which you have referred to me, and I am extremely glad that it was possible for me to be present on this important occasion, at a moment when we are all looking forward with such earnestness and zeal to doing something for the future betterment of the whole of our race. I suppose that all will be very largely in agreement, if not entirely so, with the words which have fallen from Dr. Addison and the Chairman. No one is likely to question the fact that there is an enormous amount of work to be done in order to improve our race, and raise it both morally and physically, and every one will be in agreement in desiring that no effort should be left undone in order to bring about that regeneration. In every effort they can put forward, those who represent the forces of the State, religious thought and social work should co-operate in order to bring about this effect. At the same time you will perhaps allow me to touch upon one aspect of the question which may be too easily forgotten, an aspect which is after all really fundamental. Those who watch the different pleas put forward in this country for legislation or reform, or for some change in our social usages, nearly always base their argument upon discomfort, sufferings, hardships which by existing conditions are entailed upon certain individuals; only to find that, in that very laudable desire to free individuals, or groups of individuals, they allow themselves to put forward remedial suggestions which, if they are closely analysed, may ultimately lead to some great danger to the general common good.

I suppose that the greatest danger of legislation at the present time is precisely in that direction: that in that sympathy, deep and strong, which we feel for any individual who is suffering, we are sometimes apt to seek out remedies which, if applied universally, will have for the whole of the community an effect far more terrible than the suffering of any individual at the present time. In dealing with the question of social problems we must ask ourselves, first, do we still admit that the

voice of conscience is a restraining moral force? Secondly, are the Ten Commandments still binding? Thirdly, is the long-standing Christian tradition a true interpretation of the value and extent both of the natural law in our own conscience and of the positive law given by Almighty God. If these principles are admitted, as I admit them, one is obliged to approach this question in an entirely different way from those who deny that conscience has any binding force, that the Ten Commandments any longer bind, or that the Christian tradition is any longer valid. I will refer specifically to the fifth and sixth Commandments—of course I am using the Augustinian numeration. According to the Christian tradition which has prevailed, and which we must recognise in relation to the limitation of the birth-rate and the marriage bond, the teaching of Christianity is that the only method which is allowable is voluntary continence by mutual consent. Secondly, that life is so sacred a gift of Almighty God that any direct interference with that life, even in its pre-natal condition, is a grievous sin. Thirdly, that once you have a marriage which is truly valid and consummated, there is no power on earth which can dissolve it. These are three principles, enunciated by the tradition of Christianity, which are now being openly and positively contradicted. What are you going to put in their place? The only substitute is an ephemeral and ever-changing public opinion.

May I give you examples of what I mean? Recently a book was placed in my hands written by a highly educated lady, and published by a respectable firm and praised by leading newspapers, in which the practices to which I have alluded are advocated in detail. Thirty years ago such a book would have been found only in disreputable shops, and if brought before the police courts, would certainly have been condemned. In this case a varying public opinion evidently no longer admits the validity of the Christian interpretation of the Ten Commandments. I need not dwell

upon the efforts which are increasingly made by well-meaning, and I would fain believe, conscientious persons to obtain greater facilities for divorce. In this matter too, a changing public opinion is being substituted for definite moral principles. Lastly, only the other day a public official enunciated that in certain cases of prolonged and painful disease, power should be given to the medical adviser to bring that existence to a painless end. All these things are directly opposed to the three principles I have put before you. Once you set aside clearly defined principles of that kind and put in their place a changing, and I trust ephemeral, public opinion, there is nothing really to limit the downward descent of the moral sense of the nation. Some of us were terribly shocked during the war when we knew of the condition of our streets, when it was quite clear that young girls, some of them mere children, were becoming a source of very positive temptation to our young soldiers. Our rescue workers bore this testimony: "We talked to these girls; they are not immoral, but simply non-moral, They say: 'If I choose to spend my life in that way, if I do no harm to anyone else, why shouldn't I?'" This is on a lower plane the same justification as that put forward for race suicide and easier divorce.

Once you set aside clear and definite principles, and substitute a changing public opinion, and base your demands for change on the inconvenience, discomfort and sorrow inflicted upon individuals, there is no principle left you whereby to arrest this downward descent. That is a really grievous matter that calls for our attention. I agree with all my heart that we should do everything possible to improve the surroundings of the people, to raise them by every means in our power. But this we know: you may have the highest possible morality in the most terrible physical surroundings; you may have the greatest immorality in surroundings which have every claim to sanitation and hygiene. You are not going to raise the race unless definite moral principles are impressed upon the

minds and consciences of the nation. There are many remedies being put forward very forcibly and very eloquently at the present time. I beg to you with all the earnestness of which I am capable to scrutinize all pleas and all suggestions in the light of Christian teaching and tradition.

THE VISCONTRESS RHONDDA.

It gives me very great pleasure to have this opportunity of coming here this afternoon, and I only wish that a conference such as this could be held every day of the week in every town in the Kingdom. I think we have not yet succeeded in approximately estimating the importance of considering the subject which we have before us to-day. One is struck, I think everyone must be struck, at the way in which we dash forward into schemes for doing this and that, schemes for education, new forms of governing everything in the world, most elaborate schemes, and yet we do not consider that we must have the right human material to build those schemes with. We seem rather like bad architects who push forward schemes for great houses and do not stop to look at the material that they propose to build with. Although we have at the present time a Ministry of Health coming into being, which we may hope will look upon it as its first business to maintain and improve the race, I do not feel that general opinion has realised the vast importance of this question. I do not know why it is, but I do not think public opinion has realised its own importance, although that is really fundamental. Now, I think that I have really been asked to come and speak on these matters, especially from the point of view of women. You may ask how it is that in these things women can have a special point of view. You might say health is like the sun and the air, that all need, and you cannot set apart a certain

portion and say that women have a special regard to it. I think that health and all racial questions are those in which you can to some extent say that women have a special part and have a special point of view. And, for this reason: Every woman born into the world, whatever the profession she may take up in later life, almost every one has one profession ready made for her. Sooner or later it will be her business to look after the health of other people, and most probably it will come to be her business to look after the future of the race. It is not merely the wives and mothers who are looking after the health of others: there are the sisters, the cousins and the aunts. It is the business of women generally, and practically every woman is doing it. It seems to me that when you consider that everyone from the cradle to the grave is being looked after by someone or other, that means that you should consider women especially in regard to this question of health. I don't suggest that they are the only root of the problem—if the problem had only one root, the probability is we should have settled it many years ago. Of course, the medical profession is one that occurs to one's mind immediately, but it seems to me that if you think of the medical profession in relation to keeping the people healthy, that they have always an indirect function. It is their business to tell us what to do, but they cannot be there to see that we carry out their precepts. The "someone" who has to do that is the woman in the home. Then you have other vital facts. For instance, there is the housing question, about which Dr. Addison has been talking this afternoon—that is a matter of most vital importance. Housing depends upon public opinion. Public opinion is its life blood. You must have your houses, and more or less advise as to pure milk and many other questions which are vital; therefore I would urge that with regard to woman there are these two points for her. Another thing, they are the best medium for awakening and rousing public opinion in matters

of health and spreading knowledge, because they are all interested. Dr. Addison told us that every mother wants to do the best for her child, doing the best she knows how: and there you have the best material at your hand. On the one hand you have the point that it is going to affect the health of the country from their point of view, and on the other hand it is very easy for them to arouse and form public opinion because they are so interested, so I would suggest that in considering matters of health you should make it a very great point to consider women in every possible way. We should realise their education and standard of knowledge in relation to the future. We should see that in local government, on committees and in the administration of health matters there is especially a women's province. They can be more useful to the nation in this than in any other matter, and so it is important that we should make a special use of them.

LORD PARMOOR.*

The subject of my paper is "Moral Reconstruction," or, to put the question in another form, that the only effective basis of Reconstruction must be founded on Christian ethics. I have always dissociated myself from those who believe that social evils can be corrected by coercion and punishment, and desire to raise my voice against the degradation of women brought about by unnecessary police interference and criminal proceedings. No doubt on one side Christianity has made a very notable improvement in the status of women, and I regard this factor as a great testimony to the truth of Christian teaching. At the same time the idealism should be sane and wholesome in its operation and not exaggerate the evil of failure.

* Lord Parmoor was unavoidably absent, but sent his paper for publication in the Report.

Christ Himself has given His guidance both in the case of the woman taken in adultery, and in that of Mary Magdalene, but this guidance is not a guidance of punishment but a guidance of charity and mercy. The most pitiable element in the moral failure of women is their difficulty of re-instatement. It appears to be thought that any relaxation in difficulty of re-instatement may lead to an inducement for a looser morality, but this view brings us back to the error, an error which the conditions of the world have fully proved, that restoration of character cannot be brought about by harsh criticism and punishment. If the world is to be improved, an improvement for which there is a vital necessity, it should be done by granting every opportunity for fallen women to lead a new life in order that they may realise, that they should regard their bodies, not as the home of vice, but as the Temple of God. The first step in downfall may result from conditions of life or environment for which the woman herself is hardly responsible, and every action taken in relation to her should be to encourage a new hope and a new spirit for a regenerated life. Persons interested in this subject have from time to time brought forward proposals mainly based on police interference. I have steadily opposed all these measures, and further consideration has convinced me that they are based on a wrong principle. I am not for the moment thinking of the abuses almost necessarily connected with police functions of this character, but of the harsh outlook which tends to thrust the offender into the deeper gulfs of degradation, so that at last she becomes the prey of criminal bullies. The conditions of England at the present time are, in my opinion, strong evidence that in this, as in other matters, coercion fails to produce the anticipated result and that its failure is unfortunately attempted to be corrected, not by a new outlook, but by a further dose of the coercive poison. It is strongly argued at the present day that the diseases consequent on immorality must be stamped out, and

that for this purpose almost any measure of penalty is justifiable. I have no desire to minimise the extent of the evil, but I would quote as a thorough instance of injustice the issue of a regulation applicable to women alone, and which gives an undue power to some of the worst of men. It may be that some increased authority for this purpose is inevitable, but I would rely on other alternatives. First, I would wish that, by proper and decent teaching, the extent and cause of the evil should be realised and made known, and that the extent of the danger should not be shrouded by undue reticence. In the second place, every opportunity should be given to obtain immediate medical assistance without the necessity of public exposure. In the third place, and far more important than any other remedy, there should be engendered an instinctive moral aversion to wrong, which, under all conditions, would be the most powerful safeguard. I know that the view which I have expressed will by many be thought to be inadequate, but I don't believe that this would be so if we press the necessity of Christian practice in our lives, and understanding that all Christian teaching is vain unless it is followed by Christianlike action.

REV. PRINCIPAL A. E. GARVIE

said it was his privilege to submit the annual report, entitled "Campaigns of Peace," to the supporters of the Council. As Chairman of the Executive, he desired to thank very heartily those who by their generosity had made it possible for them to do the work. As an explanation he would like to add that they could not possibly put into the report all that they were doing. A great deal was being done of a confidential character in cases of moral difficulty that could not possibly be reported, and yet that was one of the most valuable parts of the work being done. It was quite impossible to estimate how much was being done in the interest of morals by the Director

of the Council, Mr. Marchant, who had heard many stories of suffering, on matters which were strictly confidential, and no one else could know about them. But sometimes a question arose, a question of principle generally, where he felt he could not deal with it on his own responsibility, and then he (the speaker) was brought in for counsel. None could have an idea how difficult and complex were some of the moral problems submitted for consideration. Mr. Marchant gave himself without stint to the work. The Executive met monthly, and their work was for the most part to confirm what Mr. Marchant had done, or to encourage him to go on with what he proposed doing. Sometimes they had to restrain him, and tell him he was undertaking more than it was possible for him to do and that he must be content with doing a great deal less. Those who saw a good deal of the correspondence of the Council, and took frequent counsel with Mr. Marchant about matters submitted, knew a great deal more of what was being done than could possibly be reported.

Dr. Addison made an appeal to Christian ministers to deal with the matter of housing. He did not think he need have been afraid to make the appeal. About twenty-five years ago as a young minister he was very daring and preached upon the text, "Am I my brother's keeper?" He spoke very plainly in one illustration—Is a landlord his brother's keeper in respect of the moral condition of the houses from which he drew his rents? Next day he met a landlord who complimented him on the sermon. He was afraid the sermon had failed because he did not want his hearer to enjoy it. The landlord said, "You have got a broom that gets into all corners," and when asked the straight question, "Did my broom get into your corner?" had to confess that it did. He ventured to say that if they carefully read the report they would find that the Council had got a broom that got into a great many corners. It was because he realised that the problem was very complex that he wished to

assure the Cardinal Archbishop that in the Executive of the Council they kept first things first; and whatever range they might give their enquiries and activities, all were consistently subordinated to the great moral interest. They desired to maintain the high moral standard that had come down to them; and he shared entirely, without committing himself to all the Cardinal said on some questions, his view as to the condition of public morals in the country at the moment. He hoped the Council would always be found taking a strong and determined stand for moral principles that had been tested over centuries of human experience and had stood that test.

The moral interest was the dominating interest. He would like, however, to emphasise what seemed to him to be the distinctive standpoint of the Council in respect of that interest. The late Benjamin Kidd, in his great book "The Principles of Western Civilisation," said that the condition of progress was the subordination of individuals and the present to the universal and the future. That was an abstract statement which he translated in this way. Every time he saw a little child he saw the universal and the future, because a child stood for the future of the human race. He thought that was the distinctive feature of their work. They had insisted that sex was of God and was sacred; and that marriage was an institution appointed of God to be held in honour. Parenthood was a sacred trust from God, so parenthood might be held up to young men and women as one of the noblest vocations which under the providence of God they might fulfil. Instead of repression they wanted inspiration, instead of dealing with individual sin alone they wanted to deal with universal good; and surely they followed the Great Example in considering moral questions by setting a child in the midst. In seeing there was no offence against the child they were doing the work of the Council in the most effective way. Their range was wide; they believed inquiry was necessary, and for

the practical application of great moral principles they wanted the most thoroughly scientific enquiry to ascertain the facts, but a thoroughly scientific enquiry in order to ascertain the practical application of great moral principles did not mean in the slightest degree the lowering or weakening of those moral principles.

RABBI PROFESSOR HERMANN GOLLANCZ.

At no time since I have been connected with this far-reaching movement have I spoken with a fuller conviction than I do to-day of the great work which our National Council has undertaken, and which it is called upon in the interests of Society to continue with ever-increasing vigour and determination. He agreed with Dr. Garvie that a great deal of the influence they possessed and the work they were able to do was due to their Director, Mr. Marchant, without whose initiative and co-operation it would be absolutely impossible to do one-tenth of the work accomplished. What has frequently been called the Great War—but which I would call the Grim War—of all history has in a certain sense ceased. But in no sense has our war ceased; on the contrary, the campaign of the National Council of Public Morals has scarcely begun. Before the war enough of vice and sin was stalking about this great city of ours and in the larger and smaller centres of the population, and the hundred-headed monster is still at large. Nay, more; so many new issues and problems have grown out of the war—this dreadful nightmare, with its sudden shock and check to civilisation, that our movement has had additional claims thrust upon it, which might never have been realised but for the war. Our programme is clear; it may be, it is difficult to become cognisant of, or if cognisant, to reach and attack the morality of the individual; but when incidental to, or immediately connected with, individual immorality—public morals are threatened; when the fabric of Society is openly defied and rendered liable to a weakening and to a gradual destruction; when the

Empire in its most vulnerable point, in its highest interests, is in danger, then, fortified by the power vested in us by the terms of our establishment and strengthened by the approval and support of public opinion, it is our mission and duty to come forward with the utmost energy and labour so as to ensure for the country those decent conditions of living and to spread a higher conception of the meaning of life and the marriage state, endeavouring to bring about that righteousness by which alone a nation can stand, and even become exalted.

Conscious of the valuable and indispensable work we have in hand, of the difficulties we have to encounter on every side, and of the urgency of our cause, let us bear in mind the words of one of the wise men of old, of the race to which I belong: The day of life is short; the work to be done is great and long, and the Task-master urges on the worker. May those who labour neither languish nor faint by reason of the gravity of the task! And so I would add: Let us one and all, irrespective of creed or class, high and low, rich and poor, the men, women and children of this vast Empire join together in one united effort to effect some great and lasting improvement in our homes throughout the land, making them somewhat healthier and purer, and therefore happier and holier than they have been in the past. This is the true peace of the world and of nations, the peace established in the homes of men, because there is peace in men's souls.

REV. R. F. HORTON, D.D.

said it was necessary to express their gratitude to the noble owner of the house in which they were met for permission to meet there, and also to the various speakers who had addressed them with such charm and interest. He was sure they would not like to separate without expressing to Lord Lansdowne their sense of gratitude that he had shown to a public movement like this by his kind hospitality. Lord Lans-

downe had for many years stood before his country in an eminently unique position, and had won his spurs on so many fields that his name, they felt, added lustre to the movement. Then they ought to express their gratitude to the speakers. Some of the utterances had been very valuable, and they trusted they would make their way to the public ear. He was sure that all that Dr. Addison had said would have its due weight in the work of the Council, and they were glad indeed to know that they had in the Minister at the head of the Local Government Board, a man who was full of enthusiasm for the abolition of the slums and the reclamation of the people. They had had some remarkable speeches, and if it was not presumptuous to discriminate he could not help joining with Dr. Garvie in expressing great gratitude for the straight, if dogmatic, utterance which fell from His Eminence Cardinal Bourne. His unflinchingly moral utterance reached the audience in quite an unusual way. They were all conscious of a certain weakening of the moral fibre. Although it would be perhaps audacious to pass judgment upon what the Cardinal had said, they were grateful to him and to anyone who would remind them of the truths they held and that they could not go by the mere opinion of the moment, and that they were held by Eternal Laws. He felt that the Cardinal had done them a great service. They united in their Council all the Churches, and some who were of no denomination who felt the moral claim of the community. They were united, but, as they knew, when they were united there was the greatest danger of compromise and the weakening of strong opinion. Therefore he was glad that in that meeting there had been a ringing note for a firm adhesion to those great moral principles that the great English people really believed in, and which they wished to see carried out in the care of the children, in the relation of the sexes, and in the application of the principles of morality and health to the life of our Kingdom. Therefore, they thanked the speakers and the Chairman.

Telegrams: "RACEGRAM, WESTGENT, LONDON."

Telephone: MUSEUM 3590.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUBLIC MORALS

FOR GREAT AND GREATER BRITAIN

Promoting THE NATIONAL BIRTH-RATE COMMISSION: RECONSTRUCTION DEVELOPMENT, 1919-20.

Cinema Commission of Enquiry.

Object: The Renewal of the Race—Spiritual, Moral, Physical.

President of National Council: THE LORD BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

President of Ladies' Advisory Council: MARY SCHARLIEB, C.B.E., M.D., M.S.

Vice-Presidents:

The Viscount Clifden
The Lord Bishop of London
The Lord Bishop of Norwich
The Lord Bishop of Rochester
The Lord Bishop of Hereford
The Lord Bishop of Southwark
The Lord Bishop of Peterboro'
The Lord Bishop of Bristol
The Lord Bishop of Chelmsford
The Lord Bishop of Liverpool
The Lord Bishop of Ripon
The Lord Bishop of Llandaff
The Bishop of Barking
The Lord Kinnaird
Francis Bishop of Menevia
The Lord Peckover
The Rt. Rev Bishop Welldon,
D.D., Dean of Durham
The Very Rev Henry Wace,
D.D., Dean of Canterbury
D.D., Dean of Worcester
Very Rev P.M. Adam Muir, D.D.
Very Rev Canon Barry, D.D.
Very Rev J. H. Hertz, Ph.D.,
Chief Rabbi
Rev the Hon. E. Lyttelton, M.A.
Rev Ptebendary Carille, D.D.
Rev W. Temple, M.A.
Rev. Prof. H. Bisseker, M.A.

Sybil Viscountess Rhondda
Lady Henry Somerset
Lady Battersea
Lady Aberconway
Lady Rucker
Rev Principal P. T. Forsyth,
M.A., D.D.
Rev Principal A. E. Garvie,
M.A., D.D.
Rev Principal W. B. Selbie, D.D.
Rev Principal C. Chapman,
M.A., LL.D.
General Bramwell Booth
Rev Rabbi Prof. Hermann
Gollancz, M.A., D.Lit.
Rev J. Clifford, M.A., D.D.
Rev J. Monro Gibson,
M.A., LL.D.
Principal T. F. Roberts, LL.D.
Rev J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D.
Rev R. C. Gillie, M.A.
Rev R. J. Campbell, M.A.,
Rickett, P.C., M.P.
The Rt. Hon. Sir J. Compton
W. Joynton-Hicks, Esq., M.P.
Prof. Sir T. Clifford Allbutt
K.C.B., D.Sc., F.R.S.
Sir E. W. Brabrook, C.B.

Past Presidents:
THE RT. REV.
BISHOP BOYD CARPENTER,
K.C.V.O., D.D., D.C.L., D.LIT.
THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Chairman of Committee:
PRINCIPAL A. E. GARVIE,
M.A., D.D.

Vice-Chairman:
DR. C. W. SALEEBY,
F.R.S.E.D.

Hon. Treasurers:
PROF. H. GOLLANCZ,
M.A., D.LIT.
REV. F. B. MEYER,
B.A., D.D.

Director and Secretary:
REV. JAMES MARCHANT,
F.R.S.E.D., F.R.A.S., F.L.S.

Solicitors:
WONTNER AND SONS,
Accountants and Auditors:
CARTER, CLAY AND LINTOTT.

Bankers:
BARCLAY AND CO.,
54, Lombard Street, E.C.

Vice-Presidents:

Sir Dyce Duckworth, Bart,
M.D., LL.D.
Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart,
G.C.M.G., D.L.
Prof. Sir J. Macdonell,
K.C.B., LL.D.
Sir A. Pearce Gould, K.C.V.O.
Sir Thomas Glen-Coats, D.L.
Sir Thomas Barclay, LL.D.
Sir A. Newsholme, K.C.B., M.D.
Sir John Kirk, J.P.
Rev Sidney Berry, M.A.
Rev Prof. J. H. Moulton, D.Lit.
Rev. Prof. T. Witton Davies,
D.D.
Prof. G. Sims Woodhead, LL.D.
Prof. J. A. Thomson, LL.D.
Prof. Patrick Geddes, M.A.,
LL.D.
Prof. J. H. Muirhead, M.A.,
LL.D.
Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, LL.D.
Sir W. Leslie Mackenzie, LL.D.
C. W. Saleeby, M.D., F.R.S., Ed.
John Murray, Esq., C.V.O., D.L.
William Baker, Esq., LL.B.
Alderman B. Broadbent, C.B.E.
Howard Williams, Esq.
George Cadbury, Esq., J.P.
A. P. Graves, Esq., M.A.
Arnold Butler, Esq., J.P.
Percy Alden, M.A., M.P.
C. W. Kimmins, D.Sc., M.A.

Ladies' Advisory Council:

Viscountess Falmouth
Lady Willoughby de Broke
Lady Butlin
Lady Godlee
Lady Pearce Gould
Lady Procter
Hon. E. Kinnaird
Mrs. Bisseker
Mrs. Bramwell Booth
Mrs. Burgwin
Mrs. George Cadbury
Miss Curtis
Miss Dugdale
Mrs. Gollancz
Mrs. J. H. Hertz
Mrs. Macnamara
Mrs. F. B. Meyer
Mrs. Spender

Headquarters: 20, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Promoted by the National Council of Public Morals.

- THE DECLINING BIRTH-RATE.** Being the Report and Evidence of the National Birth-Rate Commission, 1916.
- THE CINEMA: ITS PRESENT POSITION AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES.** Being the Report and chief Evidence taken by the Cinema Commission of Enquiry.
- THE NATION'S MORALS.** Being the Proceedings of the Public Morals Conference held in London on 14th and 15th July, 1910.
- THE CLEANSING OF A CITY.** By various Authors.
- BIRTH-RATE AND EMPIRE.** By Rev. JAMES MARCHANT.
- THE MASTER PROBLEM.** By Rev. JAMES MARCHANT.
- HOW TO ENLIGHTEN OUR CHILDREN.** By Dr. MARY SCHARLIEB.
- RACE-RENEWAL.** Report 1916.
- BUILDING JERUSALEM.** Report 1917.
- CAMPAIGNS OF PEACE.** Report 1918.
- PREVENTION.** A Quarterly Illustrated Journal (suspended during War).
- RACE AND SEX SERIES.** Edited by Rev. JAMES MARCHANT.
- MORALS AND BRAIN.** By Sir THOMAS CLOUSTON, M.D., LL.D.
- RELIGION AND RACE-REGENERATION.** By Rev. F. B. MEYER, B.A., D.D.
- LITERATURE—THE WORD OF LIFE OR OF DEATH.** By WILLIAM CANON BARRY.
- PROBLEMS OF SEX.** By Prof. J. ARTHUR THOMPSON and Prof. P. GEDDES.
- NATIONAL IDEALS AND RACE-REGENERATION.** By Rev. R. F. HORTON, M.A., D.D.
- WOMANHOOD AND RACE-REGENERATION.** By MARY SCHARLIEB, C.B.E., M.D., M.S.
- THE PROBLEM OF RACE-REGENERATION.** By Dr. HAVELOCK ELLIS (Editor, Contemporary Science Series, &c.)
- THE METHODS OF RACE-REGENERATION.** By C. W. SALEEBY, M.D., F.R.S.Ed., F.Z.S. Author of "Parenthood and Race Culture."
- THE DECLINING BIRTH-RATE—ITS NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.** By Sir A. NEWSHULME, K.C.B., M.D., F.R.C.P.
- EDUCATION AND RACE-REGENERATION.** By the Right Hon. Sir JOHN ELDON GORST.

"QUESTIONS OF SEX" SERIES.

- LIFE AND ITS BEGINNINGS.** By Dr. HELEN WEBB.
- WHAT A BOY SHOULD KNOW.** By Dr. A. T. SCHOFIELD and Dr. PERCY VAUGHAN JACKSON.
- BEFORE I WED.** By Dr. THOMAS CLOUSTON, M.D., LL.D.
- WHAT IT MEANS TO MARRY.** By Dr. MARY SCHARLIEB.
- PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE.** By WALTER HEAPE, M.A., F.R.S.
- SOCIAL HYGENICS.** By Rev. JAMES MARCHANT. With a Preface by the Right Hon. Viscount GLADSTONE (late Home Secretary).
- SEVEN LETTERS TO YOUNG MEN.** By Rev. JAMES MARCHANT. Preface by Prof. G. SIMS WOODHEAD, LL.D.

"NATIONAL LIFE" SERIES.

- THE HIDDEN SCOURGE.** By Dr. MARY SCHARLIEB.
- CRADLES OR COFFINS?** By Rev. JAMES MARCHANT.

WAR LITERATURE FOR FREE DISTRIBUTION.

- OUR FIGHTING LADS—A WARNING MESSAGE.** By Rabbi Prof. H. GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.Lit.
- ANOTHER FIGHT TO A FINISH.** By Dr. GILES. For distribution to Army and Navy.
- FOOLPROOF.** By Dr. GILES. For civil population.
- THE CHALLENGE OF WAR-TIME TO WOMEN.** By Dr. MARY SCHARLIEB.
- WHAT ARE YOU DOING?**
- TO ENGLAND'S WOMEN WORKERS.**
- TO ENGLAND'S MANHOOD.**

The above can be supplied on application to the Secretary,

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUBLIC MORALS,
20, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.